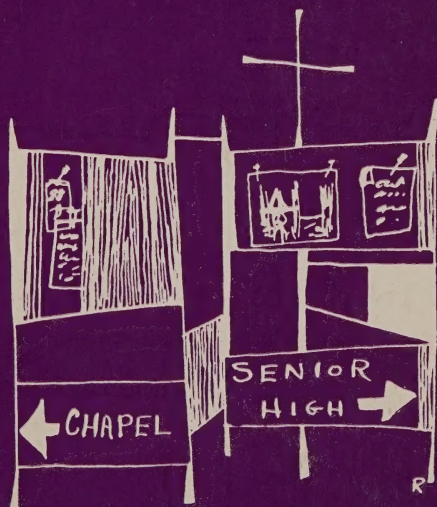


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THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM

by DENIS BALLY



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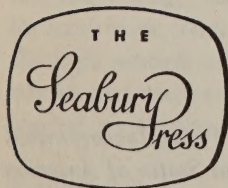
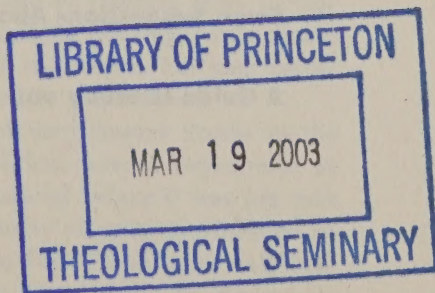
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The Cause of Freedom

by Denis Baly

**Chairman of the Department of Religion
Kenyon College**

**Prepared under the Auspices of the Youth Division
and the Division of Curriculum Development of
The Department of Christian Education
and
The Department of Christian Social Relations
of the Protestant Episcopal Church**



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ILLUSTRATIONS BY STANLEY WYATT

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Preface

THIS is a book for argument and discussion. That is to say that you do not have to agree with all of it. You may find in it ideas which shock and disturb you, or which seem to be downright foolish. On the other hand, there may be many with which you agree. In either case you should examine the ideas carefully, and be ready to discuss why you agree or disagree with them. It cannot be said too strongly that you should not find yourself accepting all the book says without any further argument, merely because it is in the book. If you find at the end of working with this material that you are better able to discuss the subjects dealt with here, then the book will have done its job.

Further, this is not an easy book, for the subject with which it deals is not an easy subject. It is a great mistake to think that you can come to any rapid conclusion about any of the ideas that are put forward here. Even the position that you take after considerable thought and discussion will probably have to be modified later, as you come to learn more about the nature of freedom from further reading. It follows, therefore, that the more reading you can do, the better. Do not imagine that one book is sufficient. For your assistance, a short list of useful books is added on pages 45-46.

Finally, I must express a word of very sincere thanks to the faculty and honors students of the Political Science Department at Kenyon College, who criticized this material before it was put into its final form. They are engaged on a study of political education in the high schools under a grant from the Ford Foundation, and their advice and assistance in the preparation of this series of discussions was of great value.

DENIS BALY

*Kenyon College,
May, 1960*

Freedom and Independence

FREEDOM is a word which we often use very lightly, and so it is important to begin by raising some questions about its proper meaning. Does it mean, for instance, that you can do exactly what you want and that no one must interfere with you? Certainly, there are many people who think in these terms when they demand freedom for themselves. However, it is very easy to see that if everyone is allowed to do just what he likes, some people are probably going to get hurt. If John and Tom, for example, want to go out with the same girl on the same night, and will allow no one to interfere, trouble is likely to happen somewhere. Further, there are unfortunately some people who want to commit crimes, to rob a bank, to peddle dope, to sell adulterated food, and so on, because they want to get rich quick. If no one could interfere with them, this would be freedom of a sort, but it would probably be better to call it "license."

Then we have to ask whether freedom involves equality, or whether it might not turn out perhaps to be the enemy of equality. Does it, for instance, mean that everyone should have the same rights as everyone else? This, of course, raises the question of whether everyone is in fact able to exercise the same rights, for though we normally think that democracy means that everyone should be allowed to vote, in few democracies does this really happen. Thus, Switzerland is a democracy, but women do not have the vote. In no democracy are children allowed to vote, but the age at which they are permitted to vote for the first time is not the same in every country. Few democracies would permit either criminals or lunatics to take part in an election.

The refusal to allow children to vote is usually explained by saying that they do not yet know enough to be able to vote responsibly, but this raises two questions. Ought those people who know more be allowed votes which carry more weight? Until 1945 this was

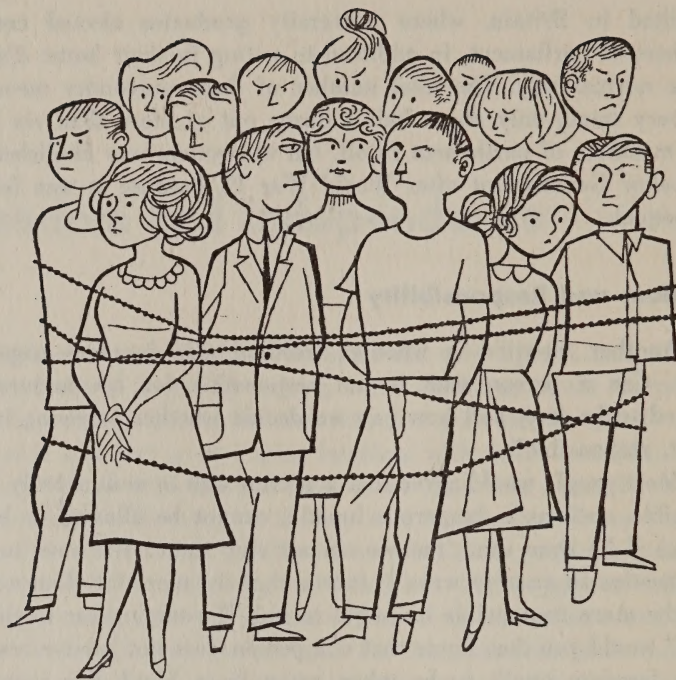
permitted in Britain, where university graduates elected certain members of parliament, in addition to voting in their home district in the normal way. The total number of these university members was very small, only about half a dozen out of more than six hundred members of parliament in all, but the system was abolished by the Labor Government after World War II, because it was felt to be unequal.

Freedom and Responsibility

Another question is whether freedom also involves responsibility. Can a person who is not responsible for his actions be allowed to be free, and how can we decide whether someone is, or is not, responsible?

Most people would agree that a person who is undoubtedly irresponsible, such as a dangerous lunatic, cannot be allowed to be as free as if he were sane, but we cannot stop there. We have to ask the question in another way: is it true that the more freedom a man has, the more responsible he ought to be? If your answer to this is "yes," would you then agree that if a person does not behave responsibly, freedom ought to be taken away from him? For instance, some people have said that the gangs of teenagers in some of the big cities are so irresponsible that they ought not to be allowed on the streets after dark. Unfortunately, this would mean that no young person could be allowed outside the house at nighttime, because there would be no way of telling whether or not he belonged to a gang, so that in order to restrain the freedom of the irresponsible, one would have to limit as well the freedom of the responsible.

This question of responsibility reflects the further question of whether there is any meaning in freedom if for some reason it is not, or cannot, be used. This question, too, can be put in another way: Is a person free at all if he does not have the power to carry out the thing he is "free" to do? Thus in most states a person is "free" to drive at speeds up to sixty miles an hour on the open road, but this freedom looks a little meaningless if you can't drive, or have no car, or perhaps have only an old jalopy which will not do more than forty-five. Power, it would seem therefore, has a lot to do with freedom, and there is no doubt that to be behind the wheel of a really high-powered car gives you a wonderful sense of being free. You can hardly help thinking, "I could *really* go places if I wanted to!"



In order to restrain the freedom of the irresponsible, one would have to limit as well the freedom of the responsible.

Power gives you the freedom to do something you could not have done before you had it.

However, we have to notice that to be free in this sense, which is a perfectly real sense of the word, means in another sense that you have destroyed both freedom and equality. People who have no cars, or only less powerful ones, are certainly no longer equal to you, and they are not free, because of this, to travel as fast as you do, however much they want to. Moreover, they are almost certainly less free even to travel as fast as they can, for you are hurtling along the highway to the public danger and they have to slow down because of you. Consequently, we find a most contradictory situation: You cannot be free in one sense unless you have power; and yet, if you are set free by your power, other people are bound, in another sense, to be less free than they were.

All this seems to mean that *Freedom* is really a very slippery word, and is constantly shifting its meaning even in the course of

the same conversation. This will certainly become clear during these discussions, and it will make them at one and the same time both exciting and rather difficult. We shall never be able to relax and say, "*Now we know what Freedom means.*" Instead, it will be necessary to ask again and again, "In what sense are you using the word *Freedom* this time?"

Freedom and Independence

The slipperiness of the word could possibly be well illustrated, if we turn for a moment and look at the international scene, where the words *Freedom* and its companion *Independence* are today in constant use. Since the end of World War II we have lived through unsettled and troubled years, including such frightening things as the dropping of the first atom bomb, the Korean War, the Berlin blockade, the Suez crisis, and the Algerian rebellion. Yet, there have also been some very encouraging events, such as the Marshall Plan, the recovery of Western Europe, the granting of statehood to Hawaii and Alaska, and the end of Stalinism in Russia. As we look back over this postwar period, we must surely find it very difficult to say whether it has been more encouraging than frightening, or the other way round.

However, one thing at least during these years would probably be counted by most people as undoubted gain, and that is the fact that in the course of them more than half of the population of the world has become independent. We have only to think of India, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Malaya, Ghana, Indonesia, Guinea, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, the West Indies, etc., to see the importance of this. Already in the British Commonwealth, the nonwhite prime ministers outnumber the whites, and under General de Gaulle, French colonial policy has taken a great leap toward a more liberal attitude.

The process is not ended yet. Nigeria has now (in the fall of 1960) become independent, and so have the Belgian Congo and Togoland, while in East Africa the drive toward independence is obvious, though we still do not know what form it will take. Of course, we have to remember that there are still grim features in the story: the war in Algeria continues, at the time of writing the Congo is in confusion, and *apartheid* in South Africa is as rigid as ever. Moreover, the white settlers in East Africa want to ensure

that when independence comes they will still be the masters. Yet, when we remember that before the end of World War II only one tiny country in all Africa north of the Limpopo River was not under some form of colonial domination, the change that has taken place in a very short period is clearly gigantic.

Is Independence a Gain?

What we need to ask is whether this change has really been for the better. We are forced to ask this question because disturbing things have been happening in many of these newly independent countries. It is impossible to be happy about the bitterness between India and Pakistan, or the endless fighting along the Arab-Israeli borders. It is even more alarming, perhaps, to find that so many of these countries have thrown over the democratic system of government with which they began, and have turned to some form of dictatorship. In some places this has a military character—as in the Sudan and Pakistan; elsewhere, though the democratic pattern is preserved, the power is concentrated in the hands of one person, as in Ghana, where the leader of the opposition party has decided that it is not safe for him to return to his country. In Iraq, in Ceylon, and in Jordan the prime minister has been murdered.

But what is most disturbing of all is the tendency of some of these countries, so recently freed from colonial rule, to become themselves imperialist. The story of how India gained control of Hyderabad is one example of this, and so is the Egyptian attempt to dominate the Sudan. Indeed, many would say that the change to a military dictatorship was Sudan's only hope of preserving her independence, since the democratic government which existed seemed unable to stand up to Egyptian pressure. The struggle for leadership between Ghana and Guinea, between the countries with a British heritage and those with a French one, is yet another sign of the same thing. The history of colonialism, it is now quite clear, will not be ended in Africa when all the Western governments have left.

Of course, there are reasons for this—sound and solid reasons which the people of these countries see very clearly indeed. Egypt knows that she can run no risks with the River Nile, which is the *only* source of water for all her millions of people. To protect their lives and guarantee their food she must try to dominate every country that might be able to deflect the Nile waters before they reach her

frontier. Equally, India could not face the possibility of an independent, and possibly hostile, country right in the middle of her territory, and so she brought it under her control. We should almost certainly have done the same if we had been in her place.

How Much Freedom Does Independence Give?

Yet, we cannot help asking, "How free have these countries really become?" Are they free at all if they are so caught by their situation that they cannot help acting in a way they would immediately condemn if it were done by others? What freedom is there if people who do not wish to be part of a country find themselves, willy-nilly, inside it?

For, however the boundaries are drawn, this is certain to happen; and many people will find themselves under a government which they do not really want, and from which they cannot secede—Turks in Cyprus, Druses in Syria, possibly French *colons* in an independent Algeria, or British settlers in the new Kenya that seems now to be taking shape. Independence cannot mean freedom for everyone; in South Africa it has meant something like servitude for the great majority of the population.

Indeed, it *may* not mean freedom, as we would understand it, for anyone. A new country is always a terribly weak country, and it seems often driven to bolster up its position by turning to a dictatorship. This may spring from internal weakness and confusion, or from external danger, for any weak country has enemies around it, and, having become independent, it no longer has the protection of a powerful Western army. This is one of the cases where freedom without power does not appear to be Freedom at all. Therefore, in face of the many dangers, a young country may sacrifice its new independence in return for the protection of some stronger power. Syria did this in 1958 by joining with Egypt. Sometimes the new country is swallowed up completely. The countries of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire became independent in 1918, but less than thirty years later almost all of them had been taken over by the new Russian empire.

And so the question before us is, "How much freedom does independence really give?"

Freedom in Society

WE HAVE seen in Chapter 1 that a country does not become completely free when it becomes independent, and even the freedom which the people do acquire is distributed unevenly. Some of the population always remain under a government they regard as "foreign" to them, and which they do not really want. We may see this illustrated by the partition of Palestine in 1948 and, even earlier, by the situation in the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The partition of Palestine was an extreme attempt to solve the problem of enabling everyone to be free from domination by a government which he did not want, and so bitter were the groups against each other that it was felt this could be done only by dividing the country into two. Yet on no showing could this solution be called a success. In order to prevent the Jews finding themselves under an Arab government, the partition was so drawn that half the population of the proposed new Jewish state was Arab. A large number of these Arabs fled, and found even so that they could not escape, for the eastern part of Palestine, to which most of them went, was absorbed by Jordan, and though many of them may have been ready to accept the king of Jordan as their ruler, it is quite certain that very many others resented him. Even apart from this, the Armenians in Palestine, on whichever side of the new line they were, found themselves under a non-Christian government about which they were not happy at all.

In our own country the question was fought out in the War Between the States. At first, of course, all the states had accepted the Union (though this does not mean that every single person in them had accepted it; those who disliked it had to put up with it), but in course of time there were many in the Southern States who



At first all the states had accepted the Union, though this does not mean that every single person in them had accepted it; those who disliked it had to put up with it.

resented the growing domination of the North as the imposition of a "foreign" way of life, and they challenged it. Their challenge failed, and so, though the victory of the North must be described in one sense as a victory for Freedom, since it brought to an end the institution of slavery, it must not be forgotten that it also removed the freedom of the South to govern itself if it wanted to.

Freedom and Technology

The result of the Civil War, therefore, increased one form of political freedom, while decreasing another. However, we now have to ask ourselves whether the Northern victory did not threaten Freedom in quite another way. It was, as most history books point out, a victory for a society that was technologically more developed than

the one it was fighting. Indeed, in part this was what people of the South feared, for they were conscious of a freedom within their own way of life that would come to an end if they became part of the industrial development of the North. This, in fact, seems to have happened. Industrialization has certainly meant more freedom for many who did not have it before, since economic pressures for an ever-expanding market have often worked potently against segregation: yet, the same industrialization has meant that in another sense no one is as free as he used to be.

We live today in a very complicated society, and it will certainly become more complicated in the future and not less so. To begin with, we seem to be moving into an era of "giant states," of which the most important are the United States, Russia, and China, and these "giant states" are taking the place of the old, scattered "empires," which were the dominant powers of the nineteenth century. Those countries of Western Europe, which once commanded the world by means of their complex systems of overseas colonies, are now looking for some way to unite together and to form another "giant state" to counterbalance those which already exist. We may see the struggle toward this reflected in such things as the European customs union which we call the "Common Market."

We may see the same thing also in the emergence of India, Canada, and possibly Brazil as dominant countries of the future, and in the convulsions which are taking place in the Middle East and in Africa. One of the interesting questions of today is where the division will come. Shall we have Africa as one unit, and the Middle East centered on Iraq as another? Or will the dividing line come between Africa south of the Sahara, and the Arab world from Morocco to the borders of Iran?

Now, clearly, the old "empires" were also giant systems, but there was this difference: they were formed of separate, and often rather isolated, units, each of which could be allowed to develop at its own pace, and with its own customs and laws. It was not necessary for all of them to be highly developed technically. However, this is not true of the giant state of today. For a country as large as the United States or the Soviet Union to be organized, and governed, and developed, tremendous technical skill is required, just because it cannot be broken up into small, relatively isolated units without falling apart. A complex system of communications must come into being—first-class roads, railroads, airlines, radio, telephone services,

a national post office, etc., etc. The same was true, you may remember, though not on the modern scale, in the ancient Persian and Roman empires, and the Persian postal system and the Roman roads were the wonder of the ancient world. Further, these communications must not only be created; they must be serviced and maintained. Moreover, such a huge country needs a very highly developed system of defenses. The tiny army, transported by a very mobile fleet, which Britain used to defend her far-flung empire, cannot suffice for one of the modern giants.

Our Technological Advantages

Of course, we profit immensely from all the technological advances which have been made in the past century. We use the roads when we want to go to the movies; we enjoy the radio and television; we live in peace and comfort behind our defenses; we have a wonderful standard of living. Nevertheless, we must pay for all this with our freedom. First, we must provide the money for it in the form of taxes from which no one is allowed to escape. Second, we have to submit to the draft, by which the defenses are maintained. This is true even for pacifists, since though they are not forced to serve if they object for religious reasons, yet they have to obtain permission to be excused. The decision to apply for this permission may involve them in a serious conflict of loyalties that would not have plagued them if the draft had not existed.

Third, we all have to go to school, whether we want to or not, and whether or not we agree with the teaching that is given. Fourth, most parents cannot even send their children to the school of their choice; it usually has to be the local school, good or bad. Fifth, we find that the more complicated society becomes, the more laws we have to obey: we have to drive on the right side of the road, stop at the red light, and park only where we are told that we may (and even then we usually have to pay for the privilege!).

This list could be extended almost indefinitely. There are more and more labor laws controlling the conditions of our daily work, laws about what jobs we may take in our vacation, laws about who may work in the post office at Christmas, and so on. There are laws about how a party-line telephone may be used, laws about what you may send through the mails, laws about how parents may treat their children, and so on, and so on, and so on.

Obeying the Experts

But it is not only by laws that our freedom is curtailed. We find it limited also by the fact that in a technological society such as ours we are bound to obey the experts. The college professor has to take his car or TV set into a garage or shop to be repaired—he cannot do it himself. A big city is paralyzed when something goes wrong with the subway system, or a huge apartment building when the elevator gets stuck. Even a small town may be reduced to something like helplessness by a failure in the electricity, for many families may find themselves without heat, without light, without power for the refrigerator, the stove, the TV or the radio, and perhaps without a telephone with which to call for help. These things, fortunately, do not happen very often, but when they do they irritate us by their forcible reminder that we are no longer free.

Even when the power is restored and we do have our radios and TV once more, we are not free. If you have read Vance Packard's book, *The Hidden Persuaders*,¹ you will know with what skill the advertisements are slanted so that we are persuaded against our will to buy the things we do not want. You will have learned also how, even in the supermarket, where our glorious freedom to buy anything we want, in season or out of it, seems limited only by our purse, we are forced still to be slaves. Men have so studied those secret desires inside us, of which we ourselves are entirely ignorant, that they know how to trap us into buying things we never thought of getting, and often find later we could not afford.

Of course, in one sense we are free to turn off the television set, or to turn it to another channel, or even not to turn it on at all. Yet, night after night we are not free to have anything but what the sponsors decide we shall have, and that is only what people are most likely to watch. Our freedom to enjoy ourselves is a very limited freedom, and at times very like a kind of slavery. It is the old story of Henry Ford saying about the Model T, "They can have it any color they want as long as they want it black."

We are never free, because every new invention must put us at somebody's mercy. We talk about the mastery of the weather, and we think that we shall be freer when we are no longer slaves of every thunderstorm and hurricane that comes along. But we shall not be.

¹ Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders*, McKay, 1957.

We shall then be at the mercy of those few people who know how to make the weather wet or dry. There is no escape from this fact.

Totalitarian Systems and Technology

This fact is also the basis of all truly totalitarian systems, for without the possibility of dominating society by their control of all the means of communication, such governments could no longer continue. Yet, when such governments are in control, there seems little hope that they can ever be overthrown, for so complex is the modern machinery for doing anything that no *small* group of men can gain control of any effective part of it. The days when bold groups of rebels could seize their rifles and take to the hills are pushed further and further into the background with every rise in the standard of living. A really ruthless government today has means of dealing with rebels which the rebels themselves cannot hope to counter.

Moreover, modern technology has now provided the State with means of ensuring that people do not even *want* to rebel. The whole



A really ruthless government today has means of dealing with rebels which the rebels themselves cannot hope to counter.

technique of thought control which George Orwell portrayed in such things as "Big Brother" and "newspeak" in his book, *1984*,² is not just a fantasy in the brain of a novelist. It is a logical development of the present technological revolution, which puts all the power into the hands of those few men capable of managing the intensely complicated society in which we live.

Of course, what we have bought with our freedom is not all bad. It has often been something that we should hate to do without. As a result of this same technological revolution we now have a higher standard of health than ever before, and a longer expectation of life. We have new comforts, more and more leisure, opportunity to travel and broaden our minds, a well-equipped house, and so on. We are no longer haunted by the dreadful fear of poverty, or of an almost certain death if ever we go to a hospital. Yet not so very long ago these fears were very real indeed. If you have read any nineteenth-century novels, you will remember how it was taken for granted then that some children at least in a large family would die in infancy. Think, for instance of Wordsworth's little poem, "We Are Seven," if you want a picture of the tremendous alteration that has come over the lives of even ordinary men and women since his day.

In other words, our loss of freedom has bought for us a new kind of freedom, and a freedom which we should hate to lose. However, we do have to ask the question, "Is it worth it? Was the price ever too high? Ought we ever to draw the line?"

² George Orwell, *1984*, Harcourt, 1954.

Freedom in the Free World

IT WAS suggested at the end of Chapter 2 that we pay for new freedoms by the sacrifice of others. If this premise is justifiable, it should be looked at more closely, because to admit its truth would be to admit that we could not have all the freedom we wanted. Instead, we should have to choose between different kinds of freedom.

In general, it would certainly seem to be true. If, for example, you want to go to a good college with very high entrance requirements, you will probably have to give a great deal of time to studying. However, in order to be free to do the studying that would be necessary, you would almost certainly have to limit your freedom to go to the movies or to watch TV as often as you want to. Of course, if you get good grades, and meet the entrance requirements of the college you want to attend, this will prove to have been a price worth paying, and you will find that you do not regret it.

Nevertheless, even on that proud day when you finally arrive at college, you will not get back your old freedom. You will get an excellent education, and will therefore be freer to choose your profession when the time comes; you will be free to make friends among an interesting group of people whom you would never have met if you had not succeeded in going to college; you will have the freedom to do all the fascinating and exciting things which can be done at a good college. But you will find that you are not free to go back to being the entirely carefree person you were before you first decided to go to college. The freedom which a good college gives you, in fact, is the freedom to work hard with good teachers and the facilities of a good library. It does not give you the freedom to be lazy.

In one sense, certainly, you do have the freedom to be lazy, to cut classes, to mismanage your time so that too much of it is spent in athletics and not enough for study. You may possibly find that you are free to drink too much, to get yourself badly into debt, and

to do much worse things even than these. In college, it is probable that no one will stand over you and prevent you from using this freedom. Yet, if you insist on this kind of freedom too often you will surely discover that you are not free any longer to stay at college at all.

The Choice of Freedoms

This continual choice of freedoms runs throughout the whole of life, and there always comes a point at which too much freedom is terrifying, and this may lead to disastrous results. We can see this very clearly if we continue for a moment to look at the situation during the first year of college.

For a large number of students the freshman year is their first year away from home, and the first year when they have the freedom to decide for themselves what they are going to do. They find that though there may be required courses, they have in general considerable freedom to choose what they want to study, and, within limits, how many classes they will attend. Nobody sees that they go to bed at the right time, or even that they go to bed at all. Nobody stands over them to see that they are working. For many students this is an intoxicating experience, and even in colleges where the greatest care is taken to weed out the poor students before they arrive, a surprising number flunk out at the end of their first year. This is not because they have been consciously lazy—very few students, at any rate in a good college, are ever that—but because they had been bowled over by the freedom for which their earlier, and more protected, life at home had not prepared them.

But the possession of too much freedom may be dangerous not only to the possessor; it may be dangerous also to those around him. Part of the problem of juvenile delinquency rests in the fact that we dare not allow teenage gangs the freedom to do exactly what they like. Indeed, as was suggested in the first chapter, we dare not let *anyone* do just what he likes, because the unrestricted use of freedom by any person or group is bound, sooner or later, to interfere with both the freedom and the welfare of other people. The situation in which everybody seizes the opportunity to do what he thinks is best for himself is always a state of anarchy.

Yet it is almost impossible to know where to draw the line. Many college authorities, for instance, are alarmed by the misuse

of freedom displayed by so many students, and therefore they decide to impose greater restraints. They devise elaborate rules to prevent students from cutting class, imposing fines for every cut above a certain limited number, and perhaps doubling the fines for those occasions when the temptation is very strong, for example, the last class before a vacation. They prohibit drinking altogether, and even dismiss students who are known to have any alcohol on the campus. They invent "honor codes," which help to restrain the students from misbehavior even when they are out of sight of the authorities, and so on.

The people who impose these rules are being neither particularly stupid nor particularly wicked. Indeed, their intentions are excellent, for their whole aim is to protect both the student himself and the society to which he belongs. They can usually support their rules with strong moral arguments, and it is probable that rules of this kind are at least as common in church-related colleges as in any other. Many, indeed, argue that the prohibition of drinking and the "honor system" are marks of a Christian college.

The Dangers of Paternalism

However, no activity is ever automatically Christian, and the question has to be asked whether the rules do not do more harm than good, and whether they do not lead to a state of affairs called "paternalism." By this is meant a situation in which the government acts like a father toward a small child who is incapable of knowing, or doing, what is best for himself. Paternalism always means the suppression of a large amount of individual freedom, at first because it is claimed that individual freedom is dangerous, and then a little later because it is claimed that it is not necessary, since the fatherly government is better able to decide what is best for the individual. There are good arguments for saying that this way of thinking is unhealthy, because the less free an individual is, the less it is true to describe him as an individual, as a real "person."

There is, however, another reason why it is undesirable to allow too much paternalism to develop. It is quite clear that governments, however well-meaning, do not always make wise rules, and sometimes it becomes necessary to protest against them. But when the argument is that the government is really doing its best for the people and is protecting them against the awful things that might

happen if they were left to themselves, then to protest against the situation is thought to be a very wicked thing to do. People who do it are told not to "rock the boat," or even that they are subversive.

Unfortunately, it is true that some of the protesters *are* subversive, and are therefore a genuine danger. It is consequently a real problem to know how much freedom should be allowed to Communists, and the problem is dealt with differently in the various democratic countries. In some, for example, great importance is attached to the freedom of the people to "associate," that is to have meetings, to form clubs and political organizations, and so on, and in these countries the Communist Party is permitted to exist, and Communists may even be elected to be members of the government. In other democratic countries, however, to grant such permission is felt to be much too dangerous. To permit Communists to be members of the government at all seems to open the door to the possibility of their taking over the whole government, as they did in Czechoslovakia, and in any case it is felt to be absurd to allow groups of people to continue in existence when they are openly planning to overthrow the democratic way of life. Yet, the conclusion cannot be escaped that in one sense you have already destroyed the democratic way of life when you have prevented the formation of a political party because it is distasteful to you. Where, then, would you draw the line?

Walking the Tightrope

We find, therefore, that we are forever walking along a kind of tightrope between the dangerous situation that develops when people have too little freedom, and the dangerous situation that develops when they have too much. There is no way of deciding once and for all how to maintain a balance between them. However, one thing at least is clear, as was pointed out by the bishops in the Pastoral Letter written after the General Convention in 1958: In the last resort people prefer even tyranny to anarchy. This is because tyranny is order of a sort, even though it may be a very bad form of order, but anarchy is no order at all.

In the anarchical situation in which everyone is free to do what he likes no one is really free to do anything. No one is free to plan ahead, because no one is free from fear and uncertainty. No one is free even to live quietly at home without disturbing other people's



We are forever walking a tightrope between the dangerous situation that develops when people have too little freedom, and the dangerous situation that develops when they have too much.

freedom, because when there is anarchy the other people do not allow him to stay quietly at home. He can become free, therefore, only by becoming strong, by becoming a bully who destroys the freedom of others in order to preserve his own.

In this kind of situation a dictator often seems to come as a relief. By methods which are often very brutal he restores some form of order, and with the order some limited form of freedom returns. Men find that once more there is some kind of shape to their lives, some kind of the needful predictability which makes life possible. They therefore give up, even willingly, a great deal of what other people in happier situations would call "essential freedom" in order to be free to live at all.

But this is not the only kind of freedom which dictatorship gives, for the sacrifice of one kind of freedom almost always buys other kinds of freedom in its place—at any rate for a time. Stalin and Hitler were undoubtedly dictators, and brutal and ruthless dictators at that, enslaving, to our way of thinking, large sections of

the people whom they governed. But in return they gave the rest of the population some of the power and prestige which enabled them to dominate other countries, a power which is not unlike the power you possess when you are driving a really fast car, and power, as we have seen, undoubtedly gives a great sense of being free.

We need to remind ourselves how greatly we all long for this kind of freedom. We hate the thought that our lives are determined by the behavior of other countries, and that the United States, however powerful, is always being checked by the activity and apparently selfish policies of foreign powers. We need only to read our daily newspapers to see how greatly we rejoice at every triumph and success of America in almost any sphere.

The Dangers of a Democracy

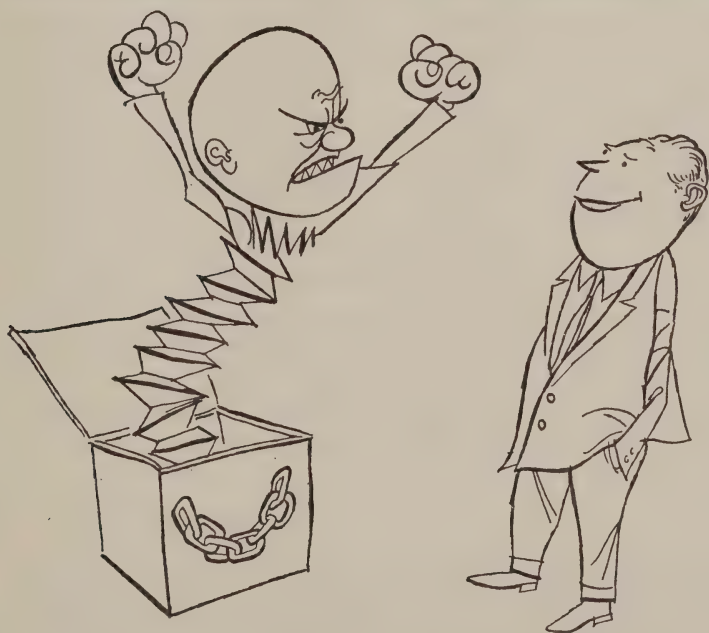
We who live under a democratic system need to give very careful thought to the dangers inherent in the system. A democracy always hovers on the brink of either giving too much freedom and ending up in anarchy, or of smothering the people with well-meant paternalism. Both are the beginning of the road to tyranny, which is one of the very things the democratic system is designed to prevent. After all, the democratic systems, as we know them in the West, are designed to prevent one man, or one group, from having too much power, and in the different democratic countries various checks have been devised to make this impossible. This aspect of democracy, of course, is excellent.

However, by distributing the power so widely any democratic system distributes with it a new freedom of action, and little by little we slide into thinking that this freedom of action ought to be complete. We find this claim being made when people talk about the freedom of the press, or a free economy, or freedom of religion. They talk as if there should be no restraints, because they think that if there were restraints, there could be no freedom. But this always leads to tyranny. First there is the tyranny of those to whom we have given the freedom, and there is today something like a tyranny of the press, when it is claimed that reporters have a right, in the sacred name of *Freedom*, to intrude into anyone's privacy, even in the moment of their greatest grief, if there is a story to be got out of it. Moreover, America has known not so long ago the tyranny of

the great monopolies until the government stepped in to restrain them, and today, in the TV world, there seems to be developing a tyranny of the sponsor.

This kind of tyranny sometimes becomes so frightening that people turn in despair to the one strong man who will deliver them from it. In one sense this is what the Americans did when they voted for Franklin Roosevelt, and kept him in power into a fourth successive term, for in the dread years of the great depression it was felt by many that the sinister tyranny of "Wall Street" was preventing the introduction of the necessary reforms. Similarly in France in 1958 de Gaulle came to power because it was felt that someone must break the stranglehold by which different power groups were preventing any possible move in the Algerian crisis.

At present in America it is possible that paternalism is the more likely danger, for there is undoubtedly a strong pattern of "conformism," of accepting the system and allowing the authorities to



Because we live in a democracy, we tend to look at dictatorships and at tyranny as not only frightening, but even absurd.

decide. This has been called by some a "flight from Freedom," as if it were felt that the problems of the responsibilities of freedom were so great that it was better to leave everything to the authorities. But, as we have seen, this means almost inevitably that the rebels are eliminated, and the nonconformists ironed out. Then, when it becomes necessary to protest against the authorities, there is no one left with either the knowledge or the ability to do it, and no one left who can prevent the imperceptible transition from the well-meaning "father" to the cynical "tyrant."

Because we live in a democracy, we tend to look at dictatorships and at tyranny as not only frightening, but even absurd. Frightening and hateful they certainly are, but we should never forget how many, many times in history democracy has given place to dictatorship—in Greece, in Rome, and in many countries of the modern world. It has happened far more often than not. Therefore, the question this time is, "Is it democracy that we are fighting for in the Free World? Is it Freedom? Or have we got to look deeper still?"

The Conditions of Freedom

ARCHBISHOP Temple used to say that Fellowship was always a by-product. By this he meant that you cannot make a fellowship by trying to make one; however, if a group of people undertake some common task which engages all their interest, they usually find that a fellowship has come into being almost unnoticed. A group that sits round and tries to be a group never succeeds in staying together as a group for very long, but people who have come together for a purpose, to produce a play, or work on the yearbook, or go on a camping trip—it does not matter what it is as long as it is something in which they can *lose* themselves—find a really solid pleasure in being together. Now, this is also true of Freedom, just as it is true of almost everything of this nature. You cannot, for instance, be happy by trying to be happy, and you cannot produce freedom merely by making everybody free. We have already seen that this makes slaves out of them, and leads in the end to tyranny.

We have also seen that Freedom is produced by the sacrifice of freedom. This is really so surprising that we need to ask whether it can be carried any further. We know that if we sacrifice a little freedom, we gain a little freedom; is it therefore true that if we sacrifice more freedom, we shall gain more freedom? Is it even true that if we sacrifice all our freedom, we shall gain complete Freedom?

The Sacrifice of Freedom

It may be simpler if we look at the question first in a personal way. Suppose, perhaps, that you like swimming and are good at it, and that you want to become a really first-class swimmer, the kind of person who might be considered for the Olympics. If you make this your goal, you will soon find that you do not really have time for very much else; you must give yourself completely to it, and

must never do anything that is going to interfere with your purpose. You will be told, for instance, that there are other sports, which you may enjoy and which you could do with other people, but in which you must not indulge because they would spoil that perfect looseness of muscle which really good swimming demands. You will be told also that you cannot eat just what you like, that you must be in bed by nine-thirty every night, that you must practice, practice all the time. To be thoroughly good at anything demands a complete surrender. However, there can be no doubt at all that a really first-class swimmer gains an immense freedom quite unknown to plodding people like the rest of us. The water becomes for him a natural element in which he is at home, instead of remaining an amusing, but a foreign, world as it is for the man who spends most of his time on dry land.

This can be seen even better in the man who loves sailing, and is alone in a boat at sea. He has sacrificed almost all his freedom; he can do nothing *against* the wind and the waves, and he must work *with* them, be obedient to them if you like, if he is to make any progress at all. Because he is alone, he is without help if he should get into trouble. He is really almost powerless. And yet in a sense there is probably no earthly freedom greater than his.

Even if we leave the water, and come back to the humdrum existence of ordinary people in their day-to-day affairs on dry land, we find this still to be true. Thus, a man and a woman who are happily married have both of them sacrificed almost all their freedom, each to the other, and the continuance of their happiness depends on this fact. In the true marriage, the husband is always looking for ways of saving his wife trouble, of giving her pleasure, of arranging the things that he knows from experience she likes to do, and equally the wife is always doing the same for her husband. Of course, they do not talk about it very much, partly because this becomes largely a natural way of acting, and certainly there are occasions when it seems to break down, because both of them have their bad moments from time to time. There are ups and downs in every marriage.

However, if either of them starts to say, or even to think, "I don't see why I shouldn't be free. After all, I have my own life to live," great unhappiness is in sight. Experience teaches us that the really happy marriage is one in which, for example, the husband takes his wife out to what he privately considers a very dull play when he would very much rather stay at home and watch TV, and

she sits shivering through a football game with him even though it bores her to tears. Each knows that it would not be the same if they went their separate ways. They are free to live together, only if they surrender the freedom to be apart, and the more complete the sacrifice, the more complete the freedom.

The Sacrifice of Freedom in Society

There is a big difference, however, when we transfer the experience of *persons* to the experience of society. It is always possible for two persons to make the complete sacrifice of freedom to each other, and because they have done so to be completely free, without any fear of tyranny. Of course, they do not succeed in this entirely, but they can come close enough to it to make their life together a deeply satisfying experience. However, in society we are dealing not with individuals, but with groups of people, which cannot be anything else but mixtures. No group can do anything at all with the thoroughness of a single individual; the very fact that it is made up of different people makes the work of a group uneven. (This, by the way, is one reason why in a crisis we always turn to a *person* to get us out of the mess, and not to a committee.) But because the work of a group is uneven, there can never be that complete surrender of freedom to which a single person can come very near. Where there are two groups, one will always be found to have made somewhat more of a surrender than the other, and the result will be a tendency by the group that has made the lesser sacrifice to dominate the other.

Of course, if freedom is *given* to any group, without an equivalent sacrifice of freedom made on their part, they are practically pushed into being tyrants. We have seen this already in the freedom of the press in this country, and we may see it also in a dictatorship, where the people have sacrificed their freedom to the dictator without requiring a similar sacrifice from him. In practice, it is true, this does not always work out quite as badly as one might expect. As we have seen, the people who have sacrificed their freedom to a dictator find that they have gained another kind of freedom, and with this they may be content for a very long time. Moreover, it often happens that a dictator may in fact sacrifice a great deal of his own freedom quite voluntarily, and may direct his life toward the service of his people. We must not imagine that all dictators, because

we disapprove of dictatorship in principle, are therefore automatically wicked people. Some of them—the enlightened despots of history—have worn themselves out in the service of their country.

Power Tends to Corrupt

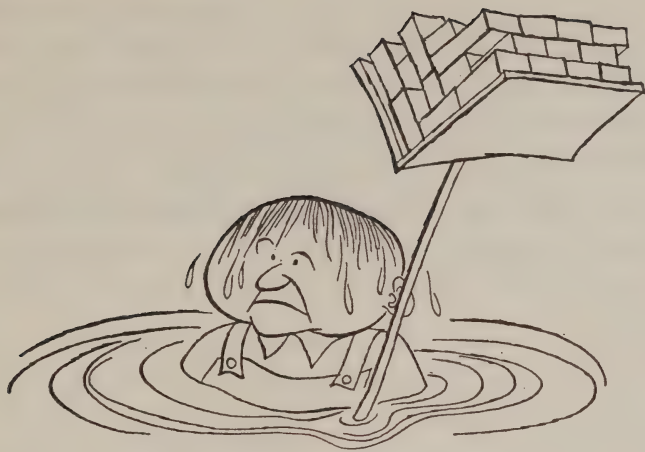
Nevertheless, the situation is likely to be very dangerous. It is almost certain that if a dictatorship proceeds for any length of time, then sooner or later tyranny will result. “Power tends to corrupt,” said Lord Acton, “and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men.”¹ No man, and no group of men, can be trusted for long with the extraordinary sense of power that comes with freedom, and unless they surrender their freedom they always misuse it.

Consequently, we find ourselves in a terrible position: in order to be free, we must sacrifice our freedom. Yet, we cannot, and dare not, sacrifice it *to anyone*, unless he is both able and willing to make the same kind of sacrifice. In personal relationships we can almost always find such people, and the example of the happy marriage is only one of those relationships. However, in our social and political relationships it seems that we can find no one. Apparently, we must either keep our freedom, in which case we shall be destroyed by it, or we must surrender it to a tyrant, who will misuse it.

Freedom and the Law

There is, however, one escape. *All* men, even the rulers themselves, can be required to sacrifice their freedom to the Law, and if this is done, then all men may have the freedom which such a sacrifice will give them. Where all men are obedient, there all men are free. This is really the great fact which makes the Free World free, and it is a fact of common experience. You may be free to play football and to enjoy it, if everyone concerned is ready to obey the rules of football without question. You may be free to speak French if you obey the rules of the French language. You are free to build your house if you obey the rules of physics—you cannot do it, for instance, if you try to balance your bricks on the surface of a lake. Even the so-called *mastery* of the weather, and the *conquest* of space, will be

¹ Lord Acton, *Essays on Freedom and Power*, Meridian, 1955, p. 335.



You are not free to build your house if you try to balance your bricks on the surface of a lake.

achieved only by knowledge of, and obedience to, the appropriate rules.

Tyranny in any society begins when the government starts to remake the rules to suit itself. Freedom is preserved when the government has to obey the law, as when we insist in this country that the laws which are made must be in accordance with the Constitution. It would be a tyrannical act, for instance, if the party in power in a democratic country passed a law saying that there would be no election for the next ten years because it wanted to stay in power for that period. Naturally, we find it difficult to imagine any government in this country managing to get a law of that kind passed, but this is not to say that it could not happen in any democracy, and not to say that in this country a party in power cannot pass a law which is really designed to please itself. Some people, for instance, think the Republicans did just that when they managed to introduce the law that no man might be president for more than two consecutive terms. They call it "defeating F. D. R. after he was dead," and say that it prevents the people having the president they want. Other people think that in some of the Southern states the government insists on an interpretation of the voting laws that is designed to satisfy the whites, to which group, of course, the members of the government belong.

In South Africa there has been a quite deliberate and bold-faced determination to alter the constitution if it stood in the way of *apartheid*, but this is only the most extreme case that we can see today of something that could happen anywhere, if conditions were pressing enough. Every democracy, of course, is supposed to place the government under the Law, but when people are very frightened, or very desperate, they can forget this, and try to take a short cut.

Would you agree, therefore, that what we must fight for today, if we want to have freedom, is in the first place not Democracy, but Law?

Freedom and the Law

IN CHAPTER 4, we raised the question of whether it is true that when all men are obedient, all men are free, whether, that is, it is the Law that gives us our freedom. You may possibly have found yourself surprised by this suggestion, because we do not always think of Law in this manner. Instead, we are inclined to think of the Law as rather restricting our freedom, after the fashion of the mother who said to her elder son, "Tom, just run upstairs and see what Johnny is doing, and tell him he mustn't."

Rules and regulations seem to interfere with so much of our life. This happens in any household where Father or Mother lays down the law and says, "No watching TV until after you have finished your studies, and in any case, no staying up after ten o'clock tonight." It happens when the school authorities say firmly that students must attend all classes, even, apparently, the utterly dreary lessons of Miss So-and-So, who you discovered ages ago couldn't be interesting if her life depended on it. It happens also when we realize that no one can get a driving license before he is sixteen (eighteen in some cases), however much he wants to, and however good he is at driving. There are times when it seems that we are never free at all, and that there is always someone snooping around, trying to interfere with our innocent pleasures.

Yet, if we think about it we realize that, even though these rules might perhaps be improved, we could not do entirely without them. In part this is because we need them to protect us from ourselves, since there are hardly any of us who would not slip into very bad habits if we were entirely free to do so. Of course, some high-minded people like to say that self-discipline is always better than discipline, and this might be true if we were strong-minded enough to be capable of real self-discipline. Instead, most of us are more like the boy who decided to give up his New Year Resolutions for Lent, if, in fact,

we have not lost sight of them altogether before the end of January. We need these tedious rules, therefore, to keep us on the right lines, and it is important to realize that it is exactly the tedious ones which we need. Rules that we did not find tiresome from time to time would be insisting on a way of life that came naturally to us, and so they would be, at any rate for us, unnecessary.

The Law as Protection

However, there is another reason why we need the Law as a protection. It is a protection against other people. The same set of rules by which students are compelled to attend classes prevents the principal from using strong-arm methods to make them do so, and though Miss So-and-So may be in your eyes as dull as ditch water, yet at least she cannot force you to listen to her dullness by means of a cane. Some people, as you probably know, think you would be much better educated if she could, and there are schools in other democratic countries where she would have every right to do so; but that is not really the point at issue here. The point is rather that you are in fact protected by the Law, and that you stand in real need of this protection. Whether corporal punishment should ever be permitted is a question that educational authorities discuss among themselves, but no one ever suggests that it should be unrestrained. If you have ever read Charles Lamb's account of his own school days, you will know the kind of thing that can happen where the Law is not thought of as a protection.

That law gives us our freedom is not a new idea. It was well known to the ancient Jews, and we must never imagine, as we are often tempted to do, that they thought the Law was meant to be burdensome—far from it. Instead, the Law set them free, free to do the thing for which they had been made, which was to serve God. In the old ghettos the gates were held to represent the doors of a house, and you will still see, if you go to Israel, wires across the road at the entrance to a town so as to form "doors" and turn it into a "house." This is so that Orthodox Jews may visit their friends on the Sabbath, and go where they like in the town, without traveling more than a Sabbath Day's journey. Non-Jews often laugh at this as if it were stupid hair-splitting, but it is not. It is based on the argument that the Law cannot possibly be intended to be restrictive and burdensome, though it must not be broken or done away

with. Consequently, it must be interpreted in such a fashion that it fulfills its true function of setting people free. To think of all the old Sabbath laws as being absurdly restrictive is completely to misunderstand them. Instead, the Orthodox Jew in the ghetto used to speak of "Queen Sabbath," the day on which he was really free.

However, the problem as we know it is complicated by the fact that the ordinary laws and rules to which we are accustomed work unevenly. There are situations in which we seem to get rather too much Law; there are certainly situations in which we do not have enough; and there are situations in which we have the wrong kind of Law.

Too Much Law

Any system of law must be drawn up so as to apply to the general, over-all, pattern of society, and this can never be made so flexible that it applies perfectly to every individual occasion. This is what we mean when we say with the ancient Romans, *Summum jus, summa injuria*, or in the more homespun speech of the ordinary person, "Hard cases make bad laws." If we try to impose the law



"Summum jus, summa injuria."

evenly and absolutely, we are bound to be unfair in some cases, and yet if we allow too many cases in which the law is not applied, the result will be that the law is brought into disrepute, and people will stop obeying it altogether. As a consequence of this there is in every society a tendency to add to the law, to try to make it fit every occasion, and to allow no loopholes. The law then becomes top-heavy, and ends by destroying the freedom which at one time it had preserved. When a legal system becomes so complicated that it tries to provide for every occasion in advance, and foresee every possibility of infringement, then man no longer has any freedom left.

This had clearly happened to the Jewish Law in New Testament times. The attempt to "build a hedge about the Law," which the rabbis in the period immediately before that of Jesus had felt to be their duty, and so to organize matters that the Law could not possibly be broken, proved to be self-destructive. The result was that the keeping of the Law so consumed the energies of those who set themselves to do it, that in their concern for every detail they were no longer free for what Jesus called "the weightier things of the Law." These were the things for which the Law was intended to set men free: mercy, humility, love, and the true worship of God.

When a situation like this develops, then we have to say that we have too much law, and we may even be driven to resist it in order to preserve the true purposes of the law. You will remember that Jesus Himself insisted that this was so, and that He had not come to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfill them. We should notice also that the kind of situation in which there is too much law is very often produced by good, kindly, well-meaning people who want to be fair, and who are anxious that other people shall be good and well-meaning too. It is, therefore, a peculiar danger in so-called "Christian" societies.

Too Little Law

But when we turn to the international scene we find a situation in which we probably do not have enough law, and further that it is unlikely that we ever can have enough. This is because law is quite useless if there is no one to see that it is carried out. A law which cannot be enforced is far worse than no law at all, because it means that the whole idea of law is endangered.

The great problem, then, of international law is, "Who is to

enforce it?" There is, in fact, no one. The United Nations cannot be used for this purpose, because it has no force behind it, and it is very doubtful whether we ever could give it such a force. Admittedly, there is a United Nations force in Sinai, and another in the Congo, but these deal with weak nations, and they were installed because it was to the interest of the great powers to impose them. On both these two occasions Russia and America voted on the same side in the United Nations. However, the true United Nations force would have to be strong enough to compel the obedience of *any* nation, however strong, or even of a group of nations. But, who, then, would be able to see that it did not become a tyranny?

There are, it should be noticed, some areas where international law is possible because it is enforced by general consent as being to everyone's advantage, e.g. the international postal agreements. Only fifty years ago there were at least three postal systems in Palestine, and one can still see in Jerusalem a building called "The Austrian Post Office." Clearly, the acceptance of one system has set us free in this matter.

There are also areas in which international law is enforced by a strong nation. This happened when Britain put down piracy and enforced the "Freedom of the Seas" in the nineteenth century, and the same freedom is maintained today by the power of the American fleet. We would be very foolish if we thought that lawlessness and piracy would not start again very rapidly if there were no strong fleet to keep order. We are free to travel only because of this. It was not for nothing that the Prayer Book of the Church of England described the British fleet as "a security for such as pass on the seas upon their lawful occasions," and this very necessary function is now that of the United States Navy.

But there are vast areas of international relations where law can be enforced at best only fitfully. There is, for instance, no way of preventing one nation from expanding its territory if it wants to, and if it feels strong enough to try. It can be checked, if it is a strong nation, only at the cost of a long and painful war. Certainly the fear of such a war may deter a strong and aggressive nation from making the attempt, but it is a fear which bears down just as much upon the most pacific countries, and from which there seems to be no escape. However excellent our intentions, we are not free, because of this, to disband our army and navy and air force, and to spend our money on other and more attractive things.

The Wrong Kind of Law

Finally, laws can be of the wrong kind. This, surely, is very obvious. A law which could put you in prison for your opinions would be a bad law, and so would a law that said you must betray your parents to the government. We are probably accustomed, most of us, to think of laws of this kind as belonging to dictatorships, and certainly they are most common there. However, they can happen anywhere. It is possible, for instance, that the law which introduced Prohibition was such a law, because it attempted to impose upon the whole people a system of morals with which they did not all agree, and to "make people good by act of Congress," an activity which is always doomed to failure. The question is not whether the moral system is good or bad, but whether the law can be used to enforce it. It is always possible that liquor may be of the Devil, but it is useless to pass a *law* which says that no one shall listen to the Devil.

The problem of bad laws, in fact, is always before us. Many people would say, for instance, that the McCarran Act, which limits immigration to those who are politically "respectable," is a bad law in this sense, and many also would say the same about the loyalty oath for faculty or students, or the various rules and regulations that restrict jobs and housing to those who can show they are free from the taint of possible "communism." The question is obviously an acute one in the South at the present time, where it is sometimes claimed that discriminatory practices fall within the state law. In those areas it is no longer possible to evade the question of whether the laws themselves are bad and ought to be resisted.

We are therefore compelled to ask, "Should bad laws be resisted in the name of Freedom, and if so how?" The Christian cannot rule out in advance the possibility that the answer may be, "Yes, these laws ought to be resisted." Yet, he should not imagine that because of this he is excused from respect for the Law. On the one hand, he may have to obey the Law by disobeying this particular law, as, for example, when he is sent to prison for resisting a segregation law in the South. He shows his respect for the Law by allowing the Law to take its course, and to send him to prison; but at the same time he recalls the Law to its true purpose by protesting against one part of it.

Obviously, such a decision should never be taken lightly, and so there is another question: "How do you decide that certain laws are bad?" Is this merely a matter of private opinion, or is there a higher Law, which even the laws of the nation must obey if we are to be truly free?

Freedom and the Christian

CHAPTER 5 closed with the question of whether there is a higher Law to which all human laws must be obedient. It would seem that the Christian would immediately have to answer, yes, insisting that this higher Law is the Law of God Himself. However, having said this, he would find himself in difficulties if he tried to pursue the matter any further.

The problem begins when he starts to ask himself exactly what this Law is to which all other laws must be obedient. In one sense, of course, there is no obstacle to answering such a question. The Law of God is in the Gospels, and we hear it every time we go to Holy Communion. It is: "[Hear, O Israel: The LORD our God is one LORD," and] Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets." (See Prayer Book, page 69; St. Mark 12:29-31; and St. Matthew 22:37-40.) But this, it can soon be seen, does no more than lay down a general and comprehensive principle, which then has to be applied to the particular problems of everyday life. But it is not only general and comprehensive; it is also absolute and infinite, and we who have merely limited minds and wills can neither fully understand it, nor carry it out. But what we can neither understand nor carry out we obviously cannot properly enforce.

Do we then have to admit that it is impossible to enforce the Law of God, and to see to it that the laws of men are altered until they conform with this higher Law? On the one hand, we certainly have to recognize that it is far from easy to transfer the Law of God from the general to the particular, and to interpret it in terms of everyday life. Admittedly we know, as did the Rich Young Ruler, that

we should not kill, or steal, or commit adultery, or bear false witness. But when we come to work this out in detail it usually proves impossible to get agreement on exactly what should be done, for Christians are not of a common mind about what it means to refrain from murder and from false witness. Is it, for instance, *always* wrong to put a man to death, and is it *always* wrong to tell a lie? Can you conceive of conditions in which you would feel forced to do either of these things?

Moreover, if we could agree on the interpretation of the Law, would it ever be possible to see to its enforcement? Would it be possible to detect on all occasions when a man was lying, and punish him for it? Are boys and girls always to be punished for having sex relations before marriage, even though all Christians would probably agree that to do so is not really the intention of God?

Enforcing the Law of God

From time to time in history men have tried to impose the Law of God, either demanding that it be enforced in the country in which they lived, or withdrawing from their own homeland in order to set up a new order in which the Law could be enforced, to establish a Christian Commonwealth, which would be, as far as possible, the Kingdom of God on earth. Such was Geneva in the days of Calvin; such was the effort in Medieval Spain; and such was the dream for certain early New England settlements. Yet, when they tried to do this with any thoroughness, the effort always seemed to lead to a terrible tyranny—to something approaching a police state in Geneva, in which Calvin attempted to discover what the citizens were doing in the privacy of their own houses; to the cold-bloodedness with which Cotton Mather insisted that a ship full of would-be immigrants should carry them rather to slavery so that the purity of the Commonwealth should not be polluted; and to the horrors of the Inquisition, of which you have surely read. It is quite false to imagine that the Inquisitors were being deliberately wicked, though it is difficult not to believe this today. If you want to get a truer picture of their aims, you should read the speech in Shaw's play, *Saint Joan*, in which the Inquisitor argues persuasively that it is for Joan's own good that he is punishing her so severely. If we turn to conditions in our own day, we find that the *apartheid* policy in South Africa springs from a conviction on the part of the Dutch Reformed Church in that country



Calvin attempted to discover what the citizens were doing in the privacy of their own houses.

that Negroes were intended by God to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, and that it would be impious to oppose Him.

This would seem to drive us to the conclusion that the Law of God cannot be related to daily affairs, and that it cannot, in consequence, be enforced. However, this is surely an intolerable conclusion, because it so separates God from this world that there seems no hope at all. On the one hand, it is clear that His commandments are "righteous, holy and good," and that it cannot be for the good of mankind that they should be disobeyed; and yet that there is no way of discovering what they are in any detail so that we may in fact obey them. This leads us perilously near the position in which we find ourselves saying that the righteous and merciful God punishes us for failing to observe laws which we are incapable of discovering. This indeed is the opinion that many people have had of God.

Natural Law

One way of escape from this dilemma is to argue that there is a "Natural Law" that intelligent persons ought to be able to discover from their knowledge of God's creation, which, because it is His creation, must in some measure reflect His character. This is a very reasonable and persuasive argument, and it will carry us a long way. It is clear that the higher religions, and the major systems of law,

have a great deal in common, and that there is, therefore, a large measure of agreement about what is desirable for human society. Thus, they all agree that private property should be protected, that personal vengeance is undesirable, and so on. They do not permit a man to go off with someone else's wife; and they require a measure of honesty in business matters. The possibility of this agreement, and the argument that Natural Law is therefore the Law of God, should never be underrated.

However, there is not complete agreement. Not all systems insist upon the principle of one husband, one wife; not all agree that suicide is wrong; not all agree upon the treatment of prisoners. This became clear during the war in the Pacific, when the Americans and British found themselves with people who not only did not have the long tradition of good treatment of prisoners, which in the West probably dates back to the customs of chivalry, but even thought that it was wrong to allow oneself to be taken prisoner at all.

So we are left with a dilemma. On the one hand, there is the Perfect Law which all men everywhere ought to obey, for their own well-being, and on the other there is the fact that by no means can men see that their own laws exactly conform to it. Whether they attack the problem from the point of view of the direct revelation of God, which would be the argument certainly of the Orthodox Jew and of the Muslim, and of a great many Christians, or whether they approach it rather from the concept of Natural Law, they reach an impasse. They can go only so far. Of the two, it is probably better to adopt the second approach, since to claim to know the revelation of God is to open the door to an appalling self-righteousness, but it is impossible to say that Natural Law in its imperfection actually is God's Law. At best it reflects it, and the two are not in conflict.

This is therefore the furthest that we can go along this road. We can, and we must, attempt to see that our own laws reflect as far as possible the Law of God, insofar as we can learn it, but because we are merely people and not Him "to whom all hearts are open, and from whom no secrets are hid," we can do no more than this.

But we cannot stop the argument there, as if because we found our road blocked we were forbidden to explore another. We are still faced with the statement that it is only by sacrificing their liberty to the Law that men can be free at all, and therefore that only by complete surrender to the perfect Law can they be completely free. How then is this surrender to be made?

Surrender to a Person

Here we need to return to something that was said in Chapter 4. A complete sacrifice of freedom made to another person, if that person also sacrifices his, or her, freedom in return makes both persons free. Now this we know to be true of Jesus Christ. When God became Man in Jesus of Nazareth, He sacrificed His freedom for the sake of men, and allowed them to do entirely what they wished with Him. But Jesus was not only God, even though we say that He was really God; He was also really and truly a man, and in Him, all the time, man sacrificed his freedom completely in return to God. We see this when we read of how He said in the garden of Gethsemane, "Father . . . not what I will, but what thou wilt," and on the Cross, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

It is, however, the Christian conviction that this is not merely the fascinating and inspiring story of something which happened in the past. Rather are we bound to say that Jesus Christ is alive now. He is alive and active and powerful. We may give ourselves completely and utterly to Him with entire assurance, because He is ready at all times to give Himself utterly and completely to us. He is not a *different* person now from what He was in the days of the New Testament. Here, then, is the complete and total sacrifice of freedom which makes us completely free. It is, as it always must be, sacrifice to a person.

Yet, it is not only sacrifice to a person; it is also sacrifice to a law, to what the New Testament would call the "law of love" or the "perfect law of liberty." It is important that we understand that behind the opportunity given to us to make this sacrifice, there is also the authoritative demand that we *ought* to make the sacrifice. There is the blunt commandment which says in effect, "This is the way in which the whole universe works, and you cannot live effectively in any other way than this. You will bring your own punishment upon yourself if you are negligent. You *must* surrender yourself."

There is consequently nothing sloppy or sentimental about the Christian understanding of Love. There is, indeed, at times almost a ruthlessness about it. It cannot, in the first place, ever become merely a collective effort, and in the second it is so demanding that it cannot become anything but a daily, even an hourly, surrender of our freedom. Such a sacrifice must be made steadily by each one of us,

and because it is a law, there can be no wriggling out of it. It cannot be made by the group, though the group may give encouragement. Each man and each woman, each boy and each girl, must sacrifice his or her *own* freedom. To sacrifice someone else's is always the work of the Devil.

But because the surrender to the Law is also a surrender to a Person, who surrenders Himself to us and lives this kind of life in us, therefore the Law ceases to be "law" in the sense in which we normally use the word, and becomes freedom. People who have set themselves steadily to make this sacrifice, and whom Christ enables by His presence to make the sacrifice, become little by little the kind of people to whom this way of life is natural, who live like this because at last they want to. They have then entirely transcended the Law and become free. You can see this very well in art. Really great artists, such as Beethoven, Shakespeare, and Rembrandt, have moved beyond the realm of "law." It is useless to ask whether they keep laws or break them, since they work in a different dimension. This is what we mean when we say of such people, "Others abide our question. Thou art free." This also is what we mean when we say in the Collect on Sunday morning that God's "service is perfect freedom," and this is what St. Augustine meant when he laid down the principle, "Love God and do what you like," or when he said, "It is good to be able not to sin; it is better not to be able to sin."

The New Freedom

Certain other things also follow from this surrender. The first is that you cannot go back to the old kind of freedom, which is doing what *you* like, regardless of God. The Israelites became free when they crossed the Red Sea into the desert, but they had to sacrifice a great deal to gain that freedom. At times they wished quite desperately that they were back in Egypt, with the comfort and the luxury and the higher standard of living, but they could not go back. Let us make no mistake. Sacrifice is always sacrifice. It always includes giving up and doing without. You cannot have this new and perfect freedom, and yet still keep the old.

Secondly, this freedom is a personal freedom. This is of immense importance. It cannot be granted indiscriminately to large groups of people. Yet, it is not merely personal; it does not isolate you from

the community. Instead, it binds you very closely to the community in a way in which you were not bound to it before, because it means that you live continually, not for yourself, but for other people. The free society must always be made up of free persons using their freedom for each other and not for themselves.

But it has to be personal also, because if it were primarily a social freedom, society could destroy it. Now it cannot do so. We may have to face the fact that our life has to be lived in the "world," in the society which is not free as we understand it, and whose members use their freedom for themselves. This may lead them sooner or later to try to destroy yours. They may want to be free to hurt you, to malign you, to accuse you of all sorts of dreadful things, to discriminate against you, and perhaps some day even to put you into prison and to destroy you. *You must not destroy that freedom.* This is not said today nearly enough from the pulpit, but it is there, fairly and squarely, in the Gospels.



You cannot leave politics to the Devil.

Obviously, this does not mean that all you can do is to sit down and let tyranny take its course. You cannot leave politics to the Devil and turn your back on this world altogether. You will have to find ways, perhaps, of doing a great many things to restrain the people who would destroy you and your freedom; but there comes a point beyond which you cannot go. This is not the place to discuss the rights and wrongs of waging war, but one thing is clear: we cannot attack the Russians first and wipe them out so that they cannot attack us. One may restrain men from evil, but one may not utterly destroy them so that they are not even capable of it.

Therefore, you *must* not destroy their freedom; but they *cannot* destroy yours. You are free to let them kill you in the last resort, but they are never free to make that the end. After that, their freedom to act is finished, but your freedom to live is unchanged.

“So we have reached the end of our journey, and we have arrived at no pleasant place. It is in fact a place of public execution. Yet all human roads lead here in the end. This is the capital of the kingdom of free men, and there, ruling from the gallows, is the King.”¹

Some Suggestions About Books

IT IS much better to struggle with some of the great classic statements about freedom, which may seem at first sight to be rather more difficult, than it is to content yourself with reading easier, but more superficial, books. Among these classics, which are at the base of any discussion on the subject, are such books and statements as the following:

St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians

St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans

The Gospel According to St. John, especially Chapters 7, 8, 13, and 16

Plato's Apology

¹ G. Kitson Clark, *The Kingdom of Free Men*, Cambridge, 1957, p. 205.

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, Regnery (paper), especially Chapters 1 and 2
Lord Acton, *Essays on Freedom and Power*, Meridian (paper, M12), 1955, especially Chapters 2, 3, and 10
Washington's Farewell Address
Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address
Franklin Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" Address

Among some of the other books you might like to read, which are all straightforward reading, though all contain excellent material, are such books as:

BARTH, ALAN, *The Loyalty of Free Men*, Viking, 1951
CLARK, G. KITSON, *The Kingdom of Free Men*, Cambridge, 1957
COULTON, G. G., *The Inquisition and Liberty*, Beacon (paper, BP85), 1959
LIPPMANN, WALTER, *The Public Philosophy*, Little, Brown (Atlantic Monthly), 1955; or New American Library (paper, MD174)
MULLER, HERBERT J., *Issues of Freedom—Paradoxes and Promises*, Harper, 1960

Finally, there are frequently articles in newspapers and journals which are well worth reading. In particular, if you are going to take seriously questions of Christianity and political questions in any form, you would do well to pay attention regularly to the following:

Christianity and Crisis, 537 West 121st Street, New York 27, New York
Worldview, Church Peace Union, 170 East 64th Street, New York 21, New York
Commonweal, 386 Park Avenue South, New York 16, New York
The Reporter, 660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, New York

A Guide to Study and Action

For the Leader

**Prepared by the Youth Division
and the Division of Curriculum Development
Department of Christian Education**

How to Use This Book

THIS unit develops the subject of freedom and responsibility for students of high-school age. At a time when, in the face of social injustice, young people are confronted with the need for direct action as represented by the "sit-ins" and various other revolutions of youth in such countries as Turkey, Korea, Japan, and Venezuela, the Church must put the challenge to its young people in equally clear terms. Further discussion and action on such issues as war and peace, academic freedom, the civil liberties struggle, and the civil rights movement can certainly develop from the last chapter of this book.

You may find that you are in disagreement with some of the statements the author makes. The ideas expressed are not the only ones to be considered, but they are provocative. They do not necessarily convey the personal views of the author, and they do not state any official policy of the Church. Each of us has to struggle to understand the meaning of freedom for himself and for the peoples of the world, and there is no simple answer to the problem of freedom versus authority.

The unit has value for individual readers because it deals with issues faced by everyone, but group use of the book will enable each person to get more out of it. The text is designed primarily for older teenagers and can be used as the basis for discussion in a church school class or youth group. It can also serve as the foundation for a much longer study of the subject at a summer youth conference.

The Purpose

The purpose of the unit is to help young people face the meaning of freedom in today's world: to discover that man's real freedom is in obedience and service to God, and that Christ has set us free to live as sons of God in order that we may love and serve Him and our fellow men.

The Leader's Preparation

Before you begin to use this material with your group, take the following steps:

1. Secure a copy of *Leading Young People* (Seabury, 1961), which is a guide for all adults working with teenagers. Part I of *Leading Young People* describes young people and their world. Part II explains the use of the discussion method and introduces a variety of techniques to help a group become involved in discussion.

2. Read the unit through (at one sitting, if possible) to get the full scope of what it covers.

3. Reread the Preface. Note the reference to additional reading which will help you add to your understanding of the subject of freedom. See the book lists on pages 45-46 and 62. If possible, borrow some of the books from your public library to serve as ready references for members of the group.

4. If you plan to use one of the films suggested in this study guide, make your reservation early. Note, too, that your group will need to have ready access to copies of the Bible, preferably the Revised Standard Version.

5. Purchase a copy of the unit for every member of your group.

Leading the Discussion

A few general hints about leading a group discussion may be helpful. For more detailed assistance, see Part II of *Leading Young People*.

1. As leader, do a lot of listening and very little talking.

2. Encourage all to participate, to speak to one another and not to you as leader. They are discussing, not reciting. Arrange the chairs so that all can see one another.

3. Help the group distinguish between fact and opinion when necessary.

4. Be alert to judge when the discussion has reached a point of diminishing return, and then bring it to a close by summarizing the points made and conclusions reached. Note the areas or questions that are still unexplored.

If you have a group of fifteen or more persons, break into small groups of five or six for discussion of some of the questions, and for Bible study. In this way, all will have an opportunity to

contribute ideas to the discussion. When the group is too large, only the more talkative persons participate.

You should have at least fifty minutes for each session, and spend from four to six weeks on the study. However, this unit offers the possibility of a much longer study because of the wide coverage of the subject. Careful preparation needs to be made for each session, including some of the additional reading suggested in the text.

The Group

Members of a discussion group need to have a real sense of their responsibility to participate. As leader you may want to voice your opinions and ideas, or describe some experience of your own which relates to the topic, but on the whole, the young people should bear the burden of the discussion.

The sessions will not be effective unless the group comes to grips with the issues presented, and other issues that relate to the subject of freedom. It may be that the questions given on the following pages do not seem to be the important ones for your group. If not, add or substitute those that will help young people face the problem more realistically.

First Session

A Way to Begin. Place at the top of a sheet of newsprint the words "I think the word FREEDOM means. . . ." Give the group two minutes to think, and then begin to list the ideas they present. Right or correct answers are not essential; just get down as many ideas as possible. (See the section called "Brainstorming" in Chapter 6 of *Leading Young People*.)

When you have spent about fifteen minutes getting ideas, ask the group to check the dictionary for the various meanings given the word *freedom*. For instance,

Does freedom mean "doing exactly what you want"?

Does freedom mean equality?

Does freedom involve responsibility?

Turn to the unit; have group members read the Preface and the first section of Chapter 1. Remind them of the first part of the purpose for this study: "to help young people face the meaning of freedom

in today's world." Finish reading through the section "Freedom and Responsibility."

Look again at the reference to gangs and restriction of freedom in this section. Ask, "Is it a logical conclusion that not allowing young people out at night restricts the responsible as well as the irresponsible? In what other ways does this principle work out in life?"

Use an illustration: Speed laws are enacted for the irresponsible, but the responsible must abide by them, too. Or, some states do not allow young people under eighteen years to drive after dark, restricting the responsible and irresponsible alike.

If your group wishes to pursue restriction of freedom further, consider movie censorship or regulations governing the kinds of books libraries may place on their shelves. (See description of film *Freedom to Read*, page 59.) Your group may have others to suggest.

Discuss these questions:

"Can a person who is not responsible for his actions be allowed to be free, and how can we decide whether someone is, or is not, responsible?"

"Is it true that the more freedom a man has, the more responsible he ought to be?"

"If your answer is 'yes,' would you agree that if a person does not behave responsibly, his freedom ought to be taken away from him?"

"In his examples, is the author equating the word *freedom* with *ability*? If so, is he justified?"

Ask the group how they would illustrate the author's statement, "You cannot be free in one sense unless you have power; and yet, if you are set free by your power, other people are bound, in another sense, to be less free than they were."

Before Your Next Session. If there is too much material in this first session for the time you have, plan to stop with a discussion of speed laws or movie censorship. Since it is not possible to design the exact plan you will use for each session, the session outlines given here are only suggestions. Move at your group's pace. Design your session plans to meet their needs and their questions as they discuss and debate the material in the unit.

Some people may be confused because the author spells *freedom* and *law* with a capital letter at various times. If so, try to determine, through discussion, what distinction the author is attempting to make.

Second Session: Power

In this session, move into the world situation by examining the section in Chapter 1 entitled "Freedom and Independence." This section presents another aspect of freedom.

The author states that independent nations often lack the power to defend themselves. "We have to be strong" is the cry today if we are to hold our own among the nations of the world. And yet power is a threat to freedom. Have the members of your group examine the necessity of power in the world today, and the dangers of it. At the time of your study, there will doubtless be a newspaper account of the use of power or the rise of power somewhere in the world which will illustrate the power concept.

Also, you can raise the question of whether any of the following are a power for deterring war, and ask, "Why or why not?"

Stock-piling nuclear weapons; building a standing army; increasing power, including missiles; nuclear testing. Or, because of the power of some nations, must all of us build shelters in preparation for a nuclear war? What does this do to our freedom?

Discuss the gains and drawbacks independence has given to the new nations of the world. Draw out under "gains" and "drawbacks" the specific things members of the group would suggest. Ask: "How do these affect the individual and society in any one of the new nations?"

Chapter 2, "Freedom in Society," presents another picture of freedom and power. Discuss the following questions as your group reads the chapter:

"What kind of freedom has technology given us?"

"What added restrictions or laws has it given us?"

"Is the power that puts the management of the intensely complicated society in which we live in the hands of a few, good or bad? Why?"

"Is the freedom we gained through the advance of technology worth the price we had to pay for it? Why or why not?"

Bible Study. God's Power in Christ. Have your group look at St. Mark 3:1-6. Here we see Jesus exercising great power and authority. At the same time, we sense in verse 6 that he is going to be killed. This is what confused the disciples. They expected Him, as the Messiah, to perform mighty acts; they did not expect Him to be killed by His enemies. At times, Jesus seemed to have great power, but before

long it appeared to the disciples that He did not have the power to save Himself from death. (How mistaken they were! In three days, God's power raised Him from the dead.)

Take a moment to think of the account of the Crucifixion. (Look at St. Matthew 27 or St. Mark 15.) In the hours of His struggle in the garden of Gethsemane and on the Cross, Jesus could have called on the power available to Him, but He would have lost what He came to do—"to set men free."

As you examine the Crucifixion story, you will notice that different kinds of power are brought to bear by the participants in the Crucifixion. Can you identify them?

"When we pray to God for strength and power, do we know what we are asking for?"

"How is God's power at work in the world today?"

"What kind of power is God likely to give us?"

Third Session: Freedom

Before you discuss the material in Chapter 3, start your session as follows:

Using a sheet of newsprint, write at the top WE WANT FREEDOM. At the head of two columns underneath write FROM and TO. Have your young people list in the first column some of the restrictions from which they would like to be free, and in the second column some of the things this freedom would enable them to do.

A further step would be to ask:

"Do other people restrict your life in ways that you find undesirable or troublesome, or that you find unfair?"

"What people 'cramp your style'?"

Having aroused the interest of the group in their own personal freedom, read Chapter 3 as far as the section "The Dangers of Paternalism." Following general discussion of the material, develop a third column on newsprint where members of the group may list the *new* restrictions involved in their new freedom.

Continue reading to the end of the chapter. "Too little freedom; too much freedom" is the theme of this chapter, and the remaining sections examine this theme in relation to the world situation. Like the parable of the Prodigal Son, we may find we end up seizing freedom in both hands, and not knowing how to use it.

If the following statement is true, where would you draw the

line as far as recognizing the Communist Party in the United States is concerned? "... the conclusion cannot be escaped that in one sense you have already destroyed the democratic way of life when you have prevented the formation of a political party because it is distasteful to you."

Discuss these questions:

"Can any political system receive our absolute and unqualified allegiance? Why or why not?"

"What helps the Christian determine his political choice?"

"Is it ever possible to become idolatrous about any particular version of democracy?"

Note to the leader: If you think your group would like to spend a second session on this chapter, two things can be done.

1. You can show the film *One Man's Opinion* (described on page 60) as a springboard for the session and follow it by the WE WANT FREEDOM—FROM—TO list suggested above.

2. In connection with the section on political freedom in Chapter 3, ask the group to examine some of the statements made on pages 60–61. Choose the quotes you think most pertinent to the discussion in which your group is involved. If the group is fairly large divide into smaller groups of three or four persons and have each subgroup study one of the quotes. Ask them to study the passage to discover what the author means by what he says and what light if any the passage throws on the questions Denis Baly asks at the end of Chapter 3.

Fourth Session: Freedom From–To

In the last session, a list was developed under the caption WE WANT FREEDOM with two columns headed FROM and TO.

Ask: "In what ways do the words *freedom from* differ from *freedom to*?" (Put those words on newsprint and give the group an opportunity to consider the distinction.)

Look at the material in Chapter 4 as far as the section "The Sacrifice of Freedom in Society." In what ways does the material illustrate FREEDOM FROM and FREEDOM TO?

Recall the parable of the Prodigal Son. (Luke 15:11–32) Ask: "What sort of freedom did the younger son want? The elder? Did they find this freedom?"

Bring out that the younger son, in order to gain FREEDOM FROM,

actually found slavery. The elder son who remained at home to live within the family law did not find freedom either. His strict following of the law gave him a hardened heart and an unforgiving spirit.

Ask: "What seemed to be missing from the lives of the brothers in the parable? Why?"

"What helpful clue might we gain for a better understanding of freedom if we used the expression FREEDOM TO? In your opinion, what is the Christian free to do? Why?"

Read the remaining pages of Chapter 4. In the section "Freedom and the Law," we again come to the irresponsible use of freedom, which makes laws necessary.

Consider the author's question: "Would you agree that what we must fight for today, if we want to have freedom, is in the first place not Democracy, but Law? Why or why not?"

"How would you illustrate the following? 'There will always be a tension between individual and society, between freedom and order. . . . Free citizens must be concerned to develop an orderly society. Society must be concerned to develop free citizens.'" (Robert H. Hamill in *How Free Are You?*, Abingdon, 1956)

Note to the leader: Another way to approach this section would be to show the film *Date with Liberty* described on page 59. Divide the members into three groups, asking each group to take one of the areas developed in this film: fair trial in a court of law; freedom of the press; freedom of thought. Ask them to keep in mind the statements from *How Free Are You?* as they watch and listen to the film. Receive and discuss reports from the groups.

Fifth Session: Law

If possible, assign Chapters 5 and 6 to be read in preparation for the next two sessions, because reference to both chapters will be included. Certain portions of the Epistle to the Galatians are suggested for study with these two chapters, and young people will have a better understanding of what St. Paul is talking about if they read the entire Epistle. There are six chapters, one for each day of the week. Suggest they read the Epistle at home as part of their private devotions.

Chapter 5 discusses Law—too much of it, too little, the wrong kind—and each section is well illustrated. For an example of early Jewish law, look at Chapters 19–21 in Deuteronomy. Illustrations of

legislative law and court decisions will be found in *The Almanac of Liberty* by William O. Douglas (Doubleday, 1954).

Be sure to discuss with the group whether bad laws should be restricted in the name of Freedom, and how you decide that certain laws are bad. Ask: "Are there any bad laws you know of today that are being resisted in the name of Freedom?"

Bible Study. Review the section on Bible study methods in *Leading Young People*, Chapter 6. Present as much background material on the Epistle to the Galatians as you feel the class needs. A map would help to locate Galatia and the cities Paul had visited there. In addition to the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, secure a copy of *The New Testament in Modern English* by J. B. Phillips (Macmillan, 1958) to help clarify obscure passages.

Paul, on his first journey to the cities in Galatia, won new converts to Christ from among the Gentiles in such cities as Antioch in Pisidia, Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium. Turning from their pagan ways, these new Christians had to learn to make right use of their new freedom, and when the going was hard they were tempted to turn back to their former ways. In addition, some of the conservative teachers were insisting that Christians must still keep the old Jewish law, including the rite of circumcision.

Paul justifies the validity of his teaching and preaching by writing this letter. In it, he dwells on the nature of Christian freedom, warns the Galatians against its abuse, and exhorts them to work by love and to walk in the Spirit.

"Galatians is Paul's declaration of religious independence from men and dependence on God."¹ It is therefore a revolutionary document in which Paul seeks to free men from falling back upon salvation by obedience to law rather than living under God's grace, which is the way of faith and love.

With this general background, have your group look at Galatians 5:1. Ask: "What is the purpose of the freedom St. Paul expresses in this verse? Is it to make sure people can do anything they want to do?"

The portion of the Epistle for study this session is Chapter 3:23 to 4:7, 31; 5:1. Divide into two groups. Assign one group Chapter 3:23-29, and the second group, chapter 4:1-7, 31; 5:1. The following questions will help the young people in their study.

¹ *Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. X, Abingdon, 1953, p. 429.

Group 1: Slaves and Sons

"How did men live before the coming of Christ?"

"How did His coming change this?"

"How has baptism changed our status?"

Group 2: The End of Slavery

"From what bondage have the pagan Galatians been delivered?"

"What does it mean to be adopted as a son and heir of God?"

The group studying the latter passage might be helped by the contrast between servant and son, slave and free, in St. John 8:31-36.

Bring the group together to share their findings, questions, and insights. Someone has said, "True liberty is not the freedom to do as we like; it is the power to do as we ought." How do the passages from Galatians and St. John illustrate this?

Sixth Session: The Free Man—The Free World

On pages 38 and 39 are some very provocative questions, any one of which would get discussion off to a good start. Turn to those pages and ask the group which one they would like to discuss. If the question regarding sex relations before marriage is raised, your attention is called to an excellent booklet the group will find helpful. It is entitled "Called to Responsible Freedom: The Meaning of Sex in the Christian Life." Produced by the National Council of Churches for Youth Week, 1961, it is available from them at 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.

On page 41 in the unit we find: "We are still faced with the statement that it is only by sacrificing their liberty to the Law that men can be free at all, and therefore that only by complete surrender to the perfect Law can they be completely free." Be sure your group understands what the perfect Law is! (See page 42.)

Before you begin your study of the next section of Galatians, look at the Bible study method described on pages 56-57 of *Leading Young People*. Called the Swedish Marking Method, it would be appropriate to use this time.

Galatians 5:2-26 to 6:1-5 is a long passage to study. Try dividing into three groups, giving one of the following passages to each group.

1. Galatians 5:2-12

"What does law add to God's grace?"

“What is at the center of Christian conduct?”

2. Galatians 5:13–25

“What is the key phrase in this section?”

3. Galatians 5:25—6:5

“Is the fellowship of the Spirit, the Church?”

The young people should be given as much time as possible to ponder the words, phrases, and meanings found in this passage. The few questions or statements given above are for your guidance. When the young people have searched for meaning in the passage as long as seems profitable, ask them to share their findings with each other. The whole group might consider the following:

“How can we avoid the two dangers to which the churches of St. Paul’s time were exposed?” The first was a misinterpretation of his doctrine of freedom that would lead to licentiousness and anarchy. The second was a falling back into a legalistic way of interpreting Christian life and salvation.

The freedom of the Christian has been described by Martin Luther in two sentences: “A Christian man is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to no one. A Christian man is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all.” (“A Treatise on Christian Liberty,” *Works of Martin Luther*, Vol. II, Muhlenberg, p. 312.)

Discuss these statements in the light of St. Paul’s teaching and your own experience.

Chapter 6 ends with an excellent quotation from *The Kingdom of Free Men*. Ask: “How would you paraphrase this passage?”

By this time, your young people have no doubt become aware that there is no escape from freedom. They may decide to be irresponsible, but that is a decision they make as free and responsible young people, for they are not free to be not free.

Ask: “How does the Christian young person exercise his freedom and allow others to do the same?”

“Are there areas in your community or your school where freedom is in danger?”

“How can you work for freedom in troubled areas?”

Note to the leader: There is more material in this last section than can be handled in one session. If you decide to have a second session, the following exercise would be a helpful way to start:

If possible have enough copies of the following Bible verses typed out for members of the group. Have the group underscore in

each of these verses the emphasis which belongs especially to Christian freedom.

John 8:32; 8:36; Rom. 8:21; II Cor. 3:17; Gal. 5:1; 5:13; Jas. 1:25; 2:12; I Pet. 2:16

For example, note the emphasis underscored in John 8:32: "And you will know the truth, and *the truth* will make you free."

In working with the group, call to their attention that freedom is not easily bought or attained. In every case it is always defined in terms of loyalty to Christ, or something comparable as noted in I Corinthians 9:19.

16mm Sound Films

Be sure to review the section in Chapter 4 of *Leading Young People* on audio-visual materials in order to make the maximum use of these films.

Freedom to Read. Columbia University Press, black and white, 14 minutes. Available from the Center for Mass Communication (1125 Amsterdam Avenue, New York 25, New York).

One member of a community group points out the danger of aiding and abetting communism by allowing books in the public library which deal with that subject. The librarian argues against such an attitude, recalling the words of Jefferson and Voltaire, and claims it is in the democratic tradition that all views be available for consideration and study. How can a library best serve "the cause of freedom"? Are there any risks involved when people are free to read what they choose about other forms of government? What are these? Are there any responsibilities involved?

Date with Liberty. Syd Cassyd Productions (917 South Tremaine Avenue, Los Angeles 19, California), black and white, 20 minutes, guide. Available from the producer.

This documentary film deals with human rights and civil liberties in three areas as set out in Justice Douglas' book *An Almanac of Liberty* (Doubleday, 1954): the right of each person to a fair trial in a court of law and protection from the mob; freedom of the press; and freedom of thought. These are represented through the lives of the men who did most to get them established.

This is a powerful presentation of an ever-timely subject. The material is developed around such questions as: Does the criminal have

the right to be confronted by witnesses? What good is a law if we can run over it any time we don't like it? What difference does one vote make?

One Man's Opinion. National Film Board of Canada, black and white, 6 minutes, guide. Available from educational film libraries.

A fund-raising program among high-school students is challenged by one youth because of alleged high-pressure tactics. He feels some students who really can't afford more than a small contribution may be pushed into pledging larger amounts. Though he supports the purpose of the campaign, he wishes to defend the rights of those financially unable to give all they might like to give. The film is open-ended, thereby serving as a useful springboard for discussion. Can you ever go against the wishes of a whole group? Would that be democratic? What do you think?

Quotable Material

From Herbert J. Muller in *Issues of Freedom*, Harper, 1960

1. "Such progress as man has made, and may still make, is guaranteed by no known law of nature, history, or God. It has always been uncertain and must always remain so, if man is in any sense free to make his history. The immediate conditions of uncertainty—tension, imbalance, instability, insecurity, disharmony, conflict—are the essential conditions of possibility and aspiration. We cannot appreciate the extraordinary adventure in freedom unless we remember that it has always been a precarious adventure, always demanded resolute, arduous effort. The full worth of liberty is known only to those who know its full cost. Its price remains eternal vigilance." (pp. 64–65)

2. "If we have any hope for a free society, we are obliged to assume its logical and moral responsibilities. We *must* risk the 'disastrous heresy' of faith in human nature, even the nature of common men. Democracy grew up on this audacious heresy, and could not have grown without it. Defenders of the old order were always asserting that ordinary men are naturally selfish, greedy, fickle, and unruly, never to be trusted with freedom. . . . Now more than ever before men in the Western world need to reassert their unique faith, even to amplify their dreams of the future, set their sights higher; for in Communism they have to contend with a driving vision that has already won and made over much of the world. If they are done with dreaming, they are done for good." (pp. 169–170)

3. "The whole faith in a free society remains literally a faith. . . .

It is a peculiarly difficult faith: one that implies fallibility and ultimate uncertainty by its very stress on tolerance and open-mindedness, that always invites risk or further uncertainty through the uses and abuses of freedom, and that can never offer the promises of miracle and mystery or the guarantees of authority." (p. 170)

From James Madison in the tenth essay of *The Federalist*

4. "Liberty is to faction what air is to fire, an aliment without which it instantly expires. But it could not be less folly to abolish liberty, which is essential to political life, because it nourishes faction, than it would be to wish the annihilation of air, which is essential to animal life, because it imparts to fire its destructive agency."

From Alan Barth in *The Loyalty of Free Men*, Viking, 1951

5. "Individual freedom . . . presupposes a tolerance of ideas which are thought to be mistaken, disloyal, and even dangerous. Tolerance of opinions which are thought to be innocuous is as easy as acts of charity that entail no sacrifice. But the test of a free society is its tolerance of what is deplored or despised by a majority of its members. The argument for such tolerance must be made on the ground that it is useful to the society." (p. 230)

6. "Democracies may unconsciously embrace their own peculiar form of totalitarianism through extra-legal pressures for conformity. If their members all talk alike and think alike, they run the serious risk of being plunged alike into disaster. The Gadarene swine had their own species of democracy when they rushed down the hillside together into the sea—acting with perfect unanimity, all agreeing, none contradicting." (p. 238) (*Gadarene swine*. See St. Matthew 8:28–33)

From Learned Hand in *The Spirit of Liberty*, Knopf, 1960

7. "Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it; no constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it. . . . And what is this liberty which must lie in the hearts of men and women? It is not the ruthless, the unbridled will; it is not freedom to do as one likes. That is the denial of liberty, and leads straight to its overthrow. A society in which men recognize no check upon their freedom soon becomes a society where freedom is the possession of only a savage few; as we have learned to our sorrow." (p. 190)

8. "The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand

the minds of other men and women; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own without bias; the spirit of liberty remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded; the spirit of liberty is the spirit of Him who, near two thousand years ago, taught mankind that lesson it has never learned, but has never quite forgotten; that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest." (p. 190)

9. See also Stephen F. Bayne, Jr., *Christian Living*, Seabury, 1957, pages 293-294 and 300-302.

Book List for the Leader

In addition to the reading list at the end of the unit, the books listed here will help you understand what it means to be a free person in Christ.

BAYNE, STEPHEN F., JR., *Christian Living*, Seabury, 1957. Part I develops the nature of freedom and the free man. Chapter 20, "The Structure of Liberty," would also be helpful.

DOUGLAS, WILLIAM O., *An Almanac of Liberty*, Doubleday, 1954. A very useful resource for illustrations of ways liberty has been fought for and preserved.

NEILL, STEPHEN, *Paul to the Galatians*, Association (paper), 1959. An excellent paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistle with helpful notes interspersed.

PHILLIPS, J. B., *The New Testament in Modern English*, Macmillan, 1958. Written in the vernacular.

For Private Prayer and Group Worship

Part of the Collect for Peace (Prayer Book, page 7) has already been quoted in this unit. The group might plan to use the Collect as a daily prayer to be said in unison at the opening or closing of each session throughout the study.

The following material will be helpful to a youth group preparing for worship.

FROM *The Book of Common Prayer*

 Psalms 19, 62, 111, and 147

 Prayer for Guidance, page 595

 The Second Collect for Whitsunday, page 182

FROM *Prayers New and Old*²

“Whose Service is Perfect Freedom,” page 34

For Perseverance, page 41

For Usefulness, page 42

FOR FITNESS FOR LIBERTY

Saviour divine,

Who dost ordain unto us, who would be free,

Both inalienable rights and inalienable duties,

Reveal fully unto us that our lives are not our own.

Show us that freedom and equality demand from us

Tolerance, humility, self sacrifice,

Willingness to share in onerous public burdens

And to subordinate our own opinions and interests to those of a
majority.

Teach us to suffer fools gladly,

To be willing to see our own standards lowered

That those of the masses may be raised.

Teach us thy divine patience

Thy divine enthusiasm in self-denying service,

That so we may become worthy of thy liberty.³

² *Prayers New and Old*, Revised Edition, Forward Movement Publications.

³ J. S. Hoyland, *A Book of Prayers Written for Use in an Indian College*. The Challenge Books and Pictures, Ltd., 1921. Used by permission of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

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By Cornelius C. Tarplee. Examines the ways in which the church can become a powerful force in overcoming individual and collective prejudices.

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